On another occasion he dreamed of a wind that carried him to the south "where the air was good to breathe." On a mountain he saw a man who was a good talker. He also was "white" and "looks like a Supai, talks Supai." This man asked the shaman why he always traveled around through the sky. The shaman didn't answer but awakened. 756 787

Concepts of Disease and Illness 753

Virtually all sickness was believed to have been brought about by malevolent dreams, sorcery, or other supernatural causes.

Psychologically upsetting dreams, especially those involving the possibility of death or loss of the soul, were considered especially harmful. If the individual revealed the general nature of his dream, his family would consult a shaman, who would then sing in an interrogatory fashion to ascertain specific details. The practitioner could exorcise the evil either by sucking intrusive objects from the patient or, through songs, ensure the return of the soul. If a person repeatedly dreamed of a deceased relative, it was believed that the dead person wanted to take the living away. This was particularly true in the case of an individual who died while learning shamanistic powers. 787 755

Shamans were often thought to be sorcerers who could produce illness either in others or in their own immediate families. Anyone who believed a shaman was harboring a particular grudge against him might come under such a spell. A deceased shaman could cause inanimate objects such as rocks, water, ground, air and the sun to make people ill. Bone fractures also were thought to have been caused by evil shamans, either living or dead. Other shamans could effect cures in the same way they counteracted dreams. Fractures were usually set by the shaman before he began to sing. 75 ● [775]

The vision of a ghost could cause serious illness or death, although this was not invariable. It tended to afflict older persons more than children. Further, not all ghosts were considered malevolent. Again, shamans, by ascertaining the identity of the ghost, could rid the individual of the malady. 75 775 [761]

Shamans themselves could become ill if they made errors in their cures of others or in other ways disobeyed instructions from their spirits. One case brought to our attention involved a shaman who, in an effort to suck a foreign object from a patient, made a mistake. It was reported that he became sick almost immediately and bled from the mouth. [The informant was unaware of the ill shaman's medical history of tuberculosis.] Another shaman was called upon to effect a cure. 753 756 [164]

To prevent conception a woman could urinate on red ants, eat the meat of cottontail rabbit, antelope, or ground squirrel while menstruating. (Smithson, 1959, 122) or drink a solution of water in which pack rat feces had been soaked. On the contrary, women could conceive more easily if they ate prairie dog meat. Abortion could be induced by carrying heavy objects or by having one's husband step on one's back during the early months of pregnancy (Smithson, 1959, 123). 842 847

The Sweatlodge and Its Therapeutic Functions

We were unable to elicit data concerning the introduction of the sweatlodge to the Havasupai. [It is probable that they adopted it from the Southern Paiute, or less probably, from the Navajo. We have no archeological knowledge of its earliest use.] The legend (see p. 108) that Wolf and Coyote built the first one is of no help. 343

Our information concerning sweatlodge construction agrees generally with that of Spier (1928, 336, Fig. 57). No ceremony was involved in building the small domed structure. Several men cooperated, although women sometimes assisted. Openings faced east, with the area inside and just to the left of the door provided for the hot rocks. [In Navajo sweatlodges the rocks are always to the right of the entry.] All present Havasupai sweatlodges are dirt covered, as are those of the Navajo. [Spier (1928, 336) noted that in his day the framework was covered only with layers of blankets and buffalo robes but that Cushing (1882, 548) mentioned a covering of dirt. Actually, Cushing (1882, 374) also saw them "closely covered with blankets." Iliff (1954), in a photograph taken around 1900, illustrates a used one without a dirt covering, as does James (1911, 280), and it would seem that this certainly was the more common.] Our informants indicated that the dirt-covered sweatlodge became universal around 1920. [171]

Spier (1928, 336) reported the size as "2 m. in diameter and 1.3m. high set over a circular pit 20 cm. deep." One that Smithson [and I] frequented was approximately the same: 2.05 m. in diameter; 1.07 m. high at center; 75 cm. high in area where participants sat; 53 cm. high at entry; 75 by 50 cm. area of heated rocks; 50 cm. depth of pit.

While the sweatlodge serves in some respects as a "clubhouse" for the men (Spier, 1928, 335), it also involves certain therapeutic and ritual functions. In former times, persons who had been wounded would receive part of their treatment in the sweatlodge, and even now individuals with broken bones and various aches, sprains and pains are treated there. A wounded man would enter the sweatlodge with a shaman and two others, 343 75

343 four being the ideal total number prescribed for each use of the lodge. They
75 would enter backwards, the shaman taking his place nearest the heated
[824] rocks and water, which was sprinkled on them. Frequently, sweet-smell-
ing herbs or leaves would be hung in a bundle above the rocks, and the floor
343 of the lodge covered with willow or cottonwood branches. The shaman would
533 sing a song and repeat it four times, although, if the shaman were not pres-
75 ent, another man who knew the songs could act in his place. Spier (1928, 337)
indicated that sweatlodge songs were sung not by a shaman but by an old
man. Our data indicate that either could participate.

At the conclusion of each song, the shaman usually would place his mouth on the afflicted portion of the patient 's body and forcibly blow his overheated breath on the area. Hand pressure also was applied in the belief that forced movement of the blood would work the heat into the painful spot.

Songs used in the sweatlodge were not to be sung outside. They were different from those a shaman learned in his dreams, but were, nevertheless, not to be taken lightly. The entire procedure was repeated four times.
343 The men remained in the sweatlodge 15 to 20 minutes each time and, in the
75 intervals, lay on the hot sand in front of the entry. Rubbing the body with sand was thought to aid in the removal of the affliction, as did the heat; drinking copious amounts of water before and after the sweatbath was believed to "clean out the body." At the conclusion it was customary, although not mandatory, to bathe in the river. Even when a shaman was not present, the man who entered first would dip his right hand in the water, sprinkle the hot stones, and speak aloud about how the heat, water, rocks and steam would remove the aches from their bodies. Others would respond with the term, hánaga, good, whenever reference was made to good health or the removal of illness. Then the initial man would begin his song and the others would accompany him, humming if they did not know the words.

It is clear that the attitude toward curing ritual in the sweatlodge is more casual than that at other shamanistic rites. Cures may or may not be effected. [Iliff (1954, 146-54) detailed a case of an ill child whom shamans refused to treat. The boy's parents had him placed in a sweatlodge where he was sung over by two laymen. Shortly after, he recovered.]

515 It was and is customary to take sweatbaths almost every day in the
343 summer, usually in the late afternoon. In the winter, the frequency was reduced to two or three times a month.

[834] Men and women, whether ill or not, should avoid sexual intercourse for four nights before using the sweatlodge. If one violated this prescription